

Message Text

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TAGS: OGEN

SUBJECT: OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

1. DAS LUERS CHAIRED A STRATEGY MEETING MAY 23 TO DISCUSS OUR POLICY TOWARD POLAND ON A NUMBER OF ISSUES. ITS PRIMARY PURPOSE, HOWEVER, WAS TO DEVELOP A CONCERTED AND, WE HOPE, EFFECTIVE APPROACH ON FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT QUESTIONS (DIVIDED FAMILIES/VISA DENIALS). BESIDES EUR, THERE WERE PARTICIPANTS FROM S/P, EB, C, HA, AND NSC. ALTHOUGH THERE SEEMED TO BE A CONSENSUS AMONG THE OTHERS, THE S/P REPRESENTATIVE DISSENTED IN FAVOR OF A SLIGHTLY DIFFERENT APPROACH. A FINAL DECISION AWAITS RECONCILIATION OF VIEWS.

2. OUTLINING THE SITUATION, LUERS NOTED THAT THE IMMEDIATE, ACTION-FORCING EVENT WAS A CONVERSATION IN THE SECRETARY'S OFFICE MAY 22 CONCERNING PRIMARILY RECENT POLISH REQUESTS FOR BETTER CCC CREDIT TERMS, TO INCLUDE
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A GRACE PERIOD. SOMEONE THERE MENTIONED THAT A MEMORANDUM IS IN PREPARATION CONCERNING OUR REACTION TO POLISH FAILURE TO RESOLVE DIVIDED FAMILIES ISSUES, AND THE SECRETARY RESPONDED THAT HE WANTS THE POLISH AMBASSADOR TO BE CALLED IN AND TOLD THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH WANTS ACTION ON DIVIDED FAMILIES. THE MEMORANDUM IS ONE S/P DRAFTED WHICH WE HAVE WORKED OVER AND WHICH CONTAINS A PROPOSAL OF A

PRESIDENTIAL LETTER TO GIEREK THAT WOULD INITIATE AN ORCHESTRATED APPROACH ON DIVIDED FAMILIES. THE IDEA FOR THE MEMORANDUM AND THE LETTER EMERGED FROM DISCUSSION AT OUR INTERAGENCY MEETING ON AMBASSADOR'S GOALS AND OBJECTIVES AND SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSION WITH BILL LUERS.

3. LUERS GOT AGREEMENT FROM C (IRA WOLF) THAT THE COUNSELOR WOULD BE THE ONE TO CALL IN SPASOWSKI. LUERS THEN OUTLINED HIS VIEWS. HE NOTED THAT IN NIMETZ'S DEMARCHE HE SHOULD DRAW ON THE CONVERSATIONS OF THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY IN WARSAW AND STRESS WHAT OUR UNDERSTANDINGS ARE OF THE COMMITMENTS GIVEN BY THESE POLISH OFFICIALS. LUERS SAID NIMETZ COULD EXPRESS GRATIFICATION AT RESOLUTION OF ANY OF THE THREE CASES RAISED BY THE SECRETARY IF THIS HAPPENS IN TIME (HE MENTIONED THE BIEGUNSKI CASE). NEXT, NIMETZ WOULD EXPRESS DISSATISFACTION AT THE LACK OF PROGRESS AND EVEN THE BACKSLIDING THAT HAS OCCURRED. HE WOULD STRESS THAT WE MUST HAVE PROGRESS AND POSITIVE GOP ACTION ON THEIR COMMITMENTS. NIMETZ WOULD PRESENT LISTS OF CASPS MOST DESERVING OF SPEEDY RESOLUTION. THERE COULD BE TWO OR THREE LISTS BY CATEGORY, SUCH AS SPECIAL HARDSHIP, SPECIAL URGENCY, OR EASY-TO-RESOLVE. ADDITIONALLY, NIMETZ WOULD SAY THAT, BESIDES THESE DIVIDED FAMILIES CASES, WE HAVE CONFIDENTIAL

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THE PROBLEM OF VISA DENIALS, ESPECIALLY TO JEWS, AND HE WOULD RAISE SEVERAL CASES OF THIS NATURE. FINALLY, HE WOULD DO THE SAME FOR THE SEVERAL CASES OF POLISH PASSPORT DENIALS TO VISITORS IN WHICH WE HAVE AN INTEREST, E.G. BARANCZAK, MAZOWIECKI. THE BOTTOM LINE IN NIMETZ'S APPROACH WOULD BE THAT WE EXPECT A CONCRETE AND URGENT RESPONSE FROM THE POLES ON THIS.

4. NSC (BOB KING) MENTIONED THAT SPASOWSKI HAS AN APPOINTMENT WITH BRZEZINSKI SHORTLY BEFORE THE AMBASSADOR'S JUNE 10 RETURN TO POLAND FOR CONSULTATIONS. IT WAS AGREED THAT BRZEZINSKI SHOULD REINFORCE NIMETZ'S DEMARCHE, AND BOB EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE THAT HE WOULD, ALTHOUGH IT COULD NOT BE ARRANGED UNTIL BRZEZINSKI'S RETURN FROM CHINA NEXT WEEK.

5. TURNING TO THE ISSUE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN POLAND, LUERS SAID OUR LINE WITH THE GOP SHOULD BE POSITIVE. IT SHOULD STRESS THE INTERESTING DEVELOPMENTS NOW OCCURRING IN POLAND AND UNDERScore OUR INTEREST, AWARENESS AND CONCERN. HE SAID OUR APPROACH ALSO INVOLVES CONTACTS WITH INTELLECTUALS AND OTHER DISSIDENTS IN POLAND, WHICH

SHOULD BE GREATER THAN THEY ARE. WE SHOULD SUPPORT THEIR PASSPORT REQUESTS AND ARRANGE FOR THEM TO MEET HIGH-LEVEL AMERICAN OFFICIALS WHEN THEY DO VISIT.

6. REGARDING THE COMPLEX OF ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL ISSUES, LUERS STRESSED THE NEED TO CONTINUE AVOIDING LINKAGE. HE EXPRESSLY SAID THAT NEITHER IN NIMETZ'S DEMARCHE NOR IN OUR OVERALL STRATEGY SHOULD WE REGARD THESE ISSUES AS LINKED WITH THE HUMANITARIAN ONES. OUR APPROACH ON THEM SHOULD BE BASED ON OUR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC JUDGEMENTS REGARDING RELATIONS WITH POLAND. LUERS ALSO POINTED TO THE NEED TO DEVELOP A MORE EFFECTIVE MECHANISM FOR DISCUSSING OUR APPROACH TO CREDIT
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PROBLEMS. HE CALLED FOR A CREATIVE APPROACH AND NOTED THAT WE MUST CONSULT WITH THE POLES AT HIGH LEVELS.

7. FINALLY, LUERS MENTIONED THE SOVIET ANGLE, WHICH UNDERLIES ALL THIS. HE CAUTIONED THAT WE SHOULD STOP SINGLING POLAND OUT IN A WAY THAT EMBARRASSES IT BEFORE THE SOVIETS AND OTHER EE'S.

8. RECAPITULATING IN THIS VEIN, LUERS OBSERVED THAT PUBLIC COMMENTS ON HUMANITARIAN ISSUES (FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT AND HUMAN RIGHTS) MIGHT BE HELPFUL IN SEVERAL WAYS. THEY COULD STRENGTHEN THE HAND OF THE MODERATES AMONG THE POLISH LEADERSHIP BY GIVING THEM AN ARGUMENT AGAINST HARD-LINERS WHO MAY WANT BLOOD. PUBLIC COMMENTS MIGHT ALSO STRENGTHEN, IN A SIMILAR WAY, POLAND'S POSITION VIS-A-VIS THE SOVIET UNION. FINALLY, PUBLIC COMMENTS WOULD BE WELL RECEIVED BY THE POLISH-AMERICAN COMMUNITY.

9. EXCEPT FOR THE DISSENT FROM S/P (PHIL KAPLAN) THE GROUP SEEMED IN AGREEMENT WITH THIS ASSESSMENT AND STRATEGY. IT WAS AGREED THAT WE WOULD FOCUS FIRST ON THE FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT QUESTIONS. THE FIRST STEP WOULD BE THE NIMETZ-BRZEZINSKI DEMARCHES TO SPASOWSKI. IF HE DOES NOT RETURN FROM HIS CONSULTATIONS WITH SOME SIGN OF PROGRESS, WE WOULD PROCEED WITH A LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT. FARTHER DOWN THE LINE BUT NOT ADDRESSED IN THIS DISCUSSION IS THE POSSIBILITY OF CRANKING DOWN OUR RELATIONS WITH POLAND A NOTCH, SLOWING THE PACE OF HIGH-LEVEL VISITS, INTRODUCING A CORRECTNESS OR COOLNESS. THESE POINTS ARE TREATED BRIEFLY IN THE S/P-DRAFTED MEMO. WHILE WE DO NOT REJECT THEM, WE BELIEVE THEY SHOULD BE HELD IN RESERVE, UNTIL WE CAN SEE THE EFFECT OF OUR INITIAL MOVES.

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10. S/P WOULD NOT CLEAR THE FOREGOING. PARTLY, AS EXPLAINED TO US, THE PROBLEM WAS THAT TONY LAKE IS AT THE UN AND THE S/P REPRESENTATIVE WAS NOT AUTHORIZED TO YIELD ON THE IDEA OF BEGINNING OUR APPROACH WITH THE PRESIDENTIAL LETTER. WE ARE BEMUSED BY THIS STANCE, BECAUSE WE FEEL THE IDEA OF THE LETTER WAS EUR'S. WE NOW PREFER THIS MORE REFINED APPROACH OF HAVING NIMETZ AND BRZEZINSKI FIRST MAKE THE POINTS ORALLY TO SPASOWSKI, BECAUSE WE FEEL OUR POSITION AND OUR EXPECTATIONS WILL BE COMMUNICATED MORE EFFECTIVELY THAT WAY.

11. NIMETZ'S CALLING IN SPASOWSKI WOULD ITSELF REPRESENT A CONSIDERABLE ESCALATION OF THE LEVEL OF DEMARCHES WE HAVE MADE SINCE THE SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH WOJTASZEK IN WARSAW. MOREOVER, BRZEZINSKI'S SHARING IN THIS WOULD CONSTITUTE ESSENTIAL WHITE HOUSE REINFORCEMENT, SOMETHING WE FEEL HAS BEEN LACKING IN OUR EFFORTS OF LATE. KAPLAN, HOWEVER, FEELS IT IS TIME NOW TO ROCK THE POLES BACK WITH A BLAST FROM THE PRESIDENT. KAPLAN APPEARS WEDDED TO HIS MEMORANDUM, AND HE SUGGESTS IF WE DISAGREE WE SHOULD SEND UP AN OPTIONS PAPER FOR THE SECRETARY TO DECIDE. WE PREFER TO RECONCILE THE DIFFERENCES, WHICH WE FEEL ARE UNDULY MAGNIFIED, AT A LOWER LEVEL.

12. WHATEVER HAPPENS, THOUGH, WE WILL NEED THE DIVIDED FAMILIES LISTINGS WE REQUESTED IN STATE 131551, AND WE MAY HAVE TO MOVE FAST ON THEM, HENCE THE URGENCY OF OUR REQUEST. ADDITIONALLY, WE WOULD APPRECIATE ANY SUGGESTIONS, CRITICISMS, OR SUPPORT YOU MAY HAVE REGARDING OUR APPROACH AS OUTLINED ABOVE. CHRISTOPHER

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